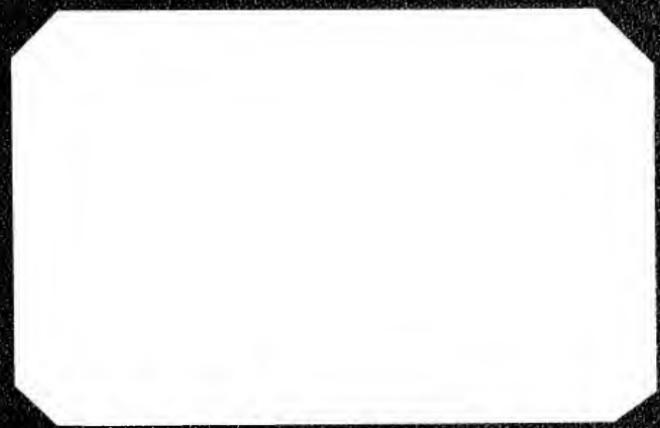


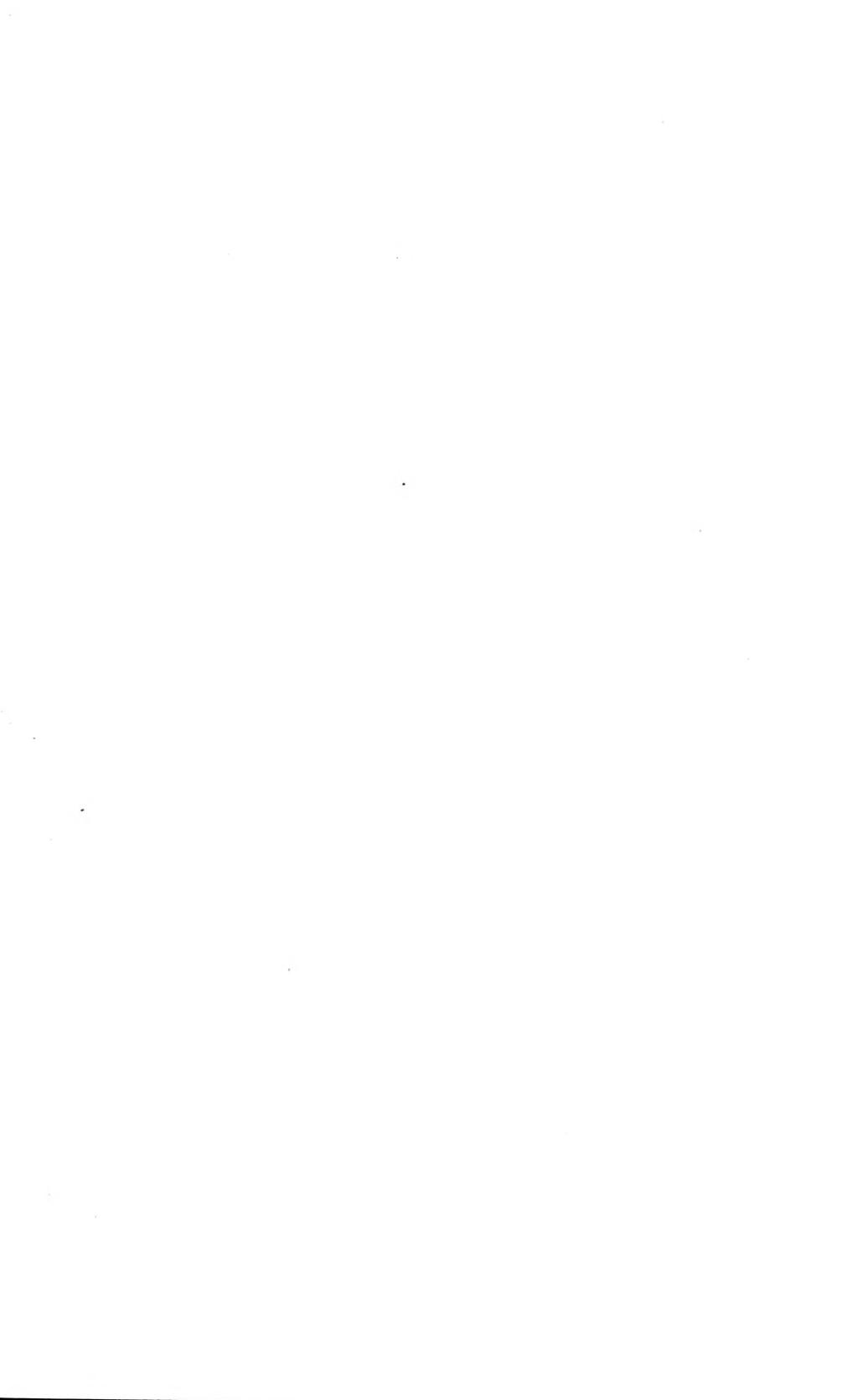
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Messrs. VALLANDIGHAM, RICHARDSON AND COX,  
A R E P L Y.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. SAMUEL SHELLABARGER,  
OF OHIO.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 27, 1863.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, Mr. SHELLABARGER said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: The extinction of a nationality, in whose language are recorded the first events of human history, whose constitution antedates the pyramids by three hundred years, and whose arts, literature and laws are the sources of all future civilization, is recorded by its last historian in that one startling sentence, "sedition destroyed the city, and Romans destroyed the sedition." A polity older than Thebes, a Government whose life outmeasures Assyrian, Chaidean and Grecian dominion combined, has the story of its decline and fall summed up, and its history told, in this sentence with which the Hebrew State is dismissed forever from the families of men.

Sir, the sedition which let Titus into the Hebrew capital was but the madness of those whom the gods would destroy. If the attacks we witnessed the other day upon this Government when my colleague [Mr. VALLANDIGHAM] sought to persuade its subjects no longer to give to it their support in its present struggle against armed treason were mere madness, they were relatively innocent. But, sir, we are spectators to-day of events in our midst, seen in an arranged, simultaneous and systematized effort to paralyze the Government in this its life or death struggle with treason, and to persuade one half its subjects to "adhere to its enemies," which are not mere madness I stop not to prove to-day. My countrymen, you no longer need proofs, I think. But whether you do or not, I cannot stop to prove, but only to warn you to-day that the "enormous conspiracy" of which you were told in the last public utterance of Mr. Douglass, on the 1st of May, 1861, has its conspirators in the North—I do not say in this House—who there play their infernal part in this drama. The key-note was struck by Stephens at Savannah, on the 22d of March, 1861, when he said:

"The process of disintegration in the old Union will go on with almost absolute certainty. We are the nucleus of a growing power. Looking to the future, \* \* \* it is not beyond the range of possibility, and even probability, that all the great States of the Northwest shall gravitate this way. Our doors are wide enough open to receive them, but not until they are ready to assimilate with us in principle."

And, sir, what we see in the North daily of these efforts to paralyze this, and to inspire with confidence the rebel government, are assigned and set parts in the play of the conspirators in this "process of disintegration."

My colleague [Mr. VALLANDIGHAM] said the other day that "this Government, with an arbitrary power which neither the Czar of Russia nor the Emperor of Austria dare exercise, has struck down at a blow every badge and muniment of freedom." The gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. HARDING,] in substance, repeated this. But, sir, these two speeches, as to this point, are but imitations, and almost copies, of the speech of Mr. Breckinridge in the United States Senate, of 15th of July, 1861, made shortly before he entered the rebel service; and all are the echoes of a message of Jefferson

Davis. Another gentleman [Mr. Cox] alleges, in substance, that the six hundred and forty-one days of Mr. Lincoln's administration have divided the Union into two belligerent parts; have debauched the religion and morals of the nation; have murdered, by its war, one hundred and fifty thousand of its children, and by disease as many more. Another gentleman [Mr. RICHARDSON] attributes this war and its fearful calamities to the "President and his friends," because, he says, they could have avoided it by honorable compromise.

I do not allude to these specimens of attack upon him who, as the national Executive, if we are to live, must be supported in the discharge of his constitutional duty to "protect and defend" the Government by all of the people, to say that these are parts of the play of the conspirators, for that would be unparliamentary. I do not refer to them for the purpose of influencing their authors by any reply, for that would be useless. I do not allude to them for the purpose of finding fault with any criticism of the acts of this Administration. It is not the right merely, but the duty, of every representative of the people, to watch, and by truthful, manly criticism, to guard the interests of the people and of their Government, by detecting and exposing the errors and wickedness of the highest and lowest officer of the Government. If a bad proclamation has been issued, if a vicious policy has been inaugurated, if a faithful and able commander has been superseded, or frauds have been committed, show these by patriotic and reasonable appeals to facts, and every patriot in the land will honor you, and will leap to your support in correcting the error. I bow in blind adoration to no President, no party, no administration. I know none of them as such in this frightful struggle for national life. I honor the man who makes this Government stronger by showing its faults. But, sir, the utterances I have cited belong not to this class of truthful or reasoning exposures or rebuke of error in this Government.

What, sir! tell Americans, who are not fools, and can read, that when the President arrests men such as Merryman and Kane, engaged in murdering our unarmed soldiers in Baltimore, coming to rescue this capital from the torch, or when he arrests those who were burning the bridges over which they came here, or who were acting in the plot to assassinate the President, he "struck down at a blow every badge of republican government," and is guilty of acts of despotism which the Czar dare not do! Why, sir, the audacity of this accusation, that military arrests for the public safety in time of great danger are unprecedented despotism, is absolutely sublime. In the war for our institutions, and most of them under the general command of Washington, these military arrests were almost daily. Some were charged with "being inimical to the liberties of America," as in the case of Connolly and others in Maryland. Others with "damning General Washington and Congress," as in the case of Kirkpatrick, of the same State. Others for expressing "sentiments inimical to America," and for "advising men to lay down their arms," as in the case of Belmire, of the same State. Others for being "enemies to American liberty," as in the case of Joshua Testill, of the same State. Others for being "disaffected to the cause of American freedom," as in the case of twenty Friends taken from Philadelphia and imprisoned at Winchester, Virginia. Others for being suspected of being loyalists, as in the case of Colonel Henry Frey, of New York, imprisoned during the war, with others, at Hartford, Connecticut. Why, sir, under Washington, throughout the war, by military authority, and in disregard of *habeas corpus*, for the public safety, these arrests of dangerous men were almost universal.

Tell Americans that these arrests are unheard-of acts of despotism, when they know that for such arrests at New Orleans by Jackson he received the plaudits of his Government; and for them by General Wilkinson, at the time of Burr's conspiracy, he was applauded by Mr. Jefferson, who said:

"On great occasions, every good officer must be ready to risk himself in going beyond the strict line of law, when the public preservation requires it. His motives will be a justification, as far as there is any discretion in his ultra-legal proceedings, and no indulgence of private feelings."

"Your sending here Swartwout and Bollman, and adding to them Burr, Blennerhassett and Tyler, should they fall into your hands, will be supported by the public opinion."

IN EXCHANGE

Western Reserve Historical Soc  
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"The Feds, and the little band of Quids, in opposition, will try to make something of the infringement of liberty by the military arrests and deportation of citizens; but if it does not go beyond such offenders as Swartwout, Bollman, Burr, Blennerhassett, Tyler, &c., they will be supported by the public approbation."

And these acts by Jackson and Wilkinson were done at a time when the public danger was to ours now as the summer breeze to the sweep of the hurricane. Tell us that these military arrests for "public safety" are unheard-of acts of despotism not dared to be made by autocrats, when we know that, from the conspiracy of Cataline to the rebellion of Dorr, in every civilized Government under the heavens, they have been resorted to as a means of preserving the State! And, sir, they never should be resorted to, except when *necessary* to preserve the State, and then with *extremest* care. Tell men not idiots that Mr. Lincoln's six hundred and forty days' possession of this Government has divided this Union, inaugurated the war, and brought all its consequences, when every man on the globe who reads any human language, from Esquimaux to English, knows that under Mr. Buchanan's administration this Union was (as much as now) divided, seven States had seceded, the rebel government was formed, the President installed, the Congress in session, an act matured calling out one hundred thousand militia to seize on Washington and assassinate the President, our army and arms seized in Texas, public property taken by the rebellion, and the Government's authority overthrown throughout one-fourth its limits! Tell us Lincoln commenced this war, when Walker, the rebel Secretary of War, on the 12th of April, 1861, boasts that they began it on that day by the attack upon Sumter, and notified through his organs his army of seven thousand men and one hundred and forty cannon to be ready at a moment's notice to march upon and take this capital; and this and innumerable other acts of war, all done before one effort was made by this Government even in *preparation* for self-defense!

Why, Mr. Chairman, by what name will history call such *truthless* assaults upon our beloved institutions and the Government, now when it needs so much the sympathy and support of all its children? Are these treason? Oh no, not treason, although they destroy the Government. They are not treason, only because treason is bold and leaps to its ends by the "overt act." It is only because treason is bold, and takes the hazards of crime, that somebody said of it that treason multiplied becomes heroic, successful becomes patriotism. Why, sir, Cataline, as conspirator, at the door of the Senate, has received the execrations of all history, and is pinioned over the doorway of every council chamber in Christendom. There, sir, over your doorway you see his bones yet, and scorn stands there pointing at them her slow unmoving finger. But Cataline as the captain, in flagrant war at Pistoia, has received from history the sacred rite of sepulture. When Absalom stole from his father the king the hearts of the king's subjects, as he kissed the men of Israel beside the king's gate, Absalom was but a demagogue and thief. But to the memory of Absalom, in the wood of Ephraim, as a leader of open rebellion, the tears of his father accord the meed of a hero illustrious at least in crime.

No, Mr. Chairman, these covered and furtive attacks upon this Government itself, which are made now by seeking to persuade the people that the crimes of their own Government are the causes of this rebellion against itself, are not technical treason, just because treason is no skulk or coward. And, sir, neither are they debate. Why, sir, debate is the contest of intellect with intellect, wielding in that contest truth—high, sublime, mighty truth—and if the combatants have no other light, they have at least the sword-sparks struck by the conflict from these their weapons. Michael or Ajax may be set down by poets as impersonations of high debate. But even Ajax, groping for an antagonist and for light, is not such impersonation; much less is not debate the *truthless* dribblings of insanity as it stands there vacant and emasculated, muttering at each passer by its incoherent twaddle. Neither, sir, are these diatribes debate which, in this Hull or out, libel the loyal men of the North as the authors of our national calamities.

These utterances are not debate, sir. Then, what are they? Let them be

forever to history what the ravings of the hags of the drama are to it, "a deed without a name."

Let us look a little at these accusations against the men of the North.—The gentleman from Illinois says in effect, we brought the war wrongfully, unjustly, by rejecting an honorable compromise, which was rejected the 2d of March, 1861. This was after seven rebel States had seceded; organized a rebel government; inaugurated its president; matured, in its congress, an act calling out one hundred thousand militia; surrendered our army in Texas, and our forts, arsenals, navy yards and other public property to the rebellion; and after the conspirators had taken a final leave of this Government in contemptuous defiance of the Government and rejection of all compromise, and was in the act of organizing its armies to march them on this capital to overthrow the Government and to assassinate the President of the United States, and to seize upon the seat of his and of this Government's power. That was the precise attitude of the rebels towards the "President and his friends" at the moment when that President and his friends, as the gentleman alleges, at last refused to make with the rebels "an honorable compromise!" And that was the attitude of affairs—mark it, Americans—when began the six hundred and forty-one days of this administration's existence, which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Cox] in this House dares to insinuate have borne, as their terrible fruits, the destruction of three hundred thousand citizens, the debauchery of this Union into two belligerent parts, the bankruptcy and total debauchery of the entire nation. Let this House and nation note this attitude of affairs when this honorable compromise was declined, and when these six hundred and forty-one days began, and then let us look a moment at these startling accusations that we have brought this war and its awful fruits by rejecting honorable compromise.

Shall I argue with these honorable gentlemen the proposition that the President and his friends could only compromise with rebels, whose knife was at their throats, *honorably* upon the supposition that our principles, which we were required to abandon in the compromise, were so obviously wrong and unjust that we and the people who elected Mr. Lincoln could not honestly entertain them as true? If honestly entertained as wise principles of government, and just approved by the people, could the President and his friends abandon them in obedience to the logic of the knife and the pistol, and abandon them at the very moment he was appointed by the people to execute them? Would that, sir, be the gentleman's idea of an *honorable* compromise? Let us see.

I now make an appeal which I know must reach the sense of manhood as well as the patriotism of the gentleman from Illinois, and of every member on the other side. Had Mr. Douglas been elected on the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and then had the New England States, or Ohio, pursued the course of their Southern sisters and said, "we are unwilling to belong to a Government which protects slavery; we are tired of what these men call the copartnership; we will break it up, and will erect a Government of our own;" and if they had seized the forts, arsenals and public property of the whole country, and had arrayed themselves in hostility to the Government, and threatened to depose Mr. Douglas, and to take possession of the capital, and had put their knife at the heart of Mr. Douglas, and at the heart of the gentleman from Illinois, as the head of his Cabinet; and then, in that posture of affairs, had said to Mr. Douglas and his Cabinet, and to the people who elected him, "we will submit to your Government and live under it if you will make with us an 'honorable compromise'; just abandon your principle of 'popular sovereignty,' put into the Constitution our Chicago platform; exclude popular sovereignty from the Territories forever; and do not stop there, but after you have got the Chicago platform into the Constitution, put in a clause touching it which shall say, as the Crittenden compromise did touching its 'slave code' which it injected into the Constitution, 'no future amendment to the Constitution shall affect this article.'" And then had New England said, "do this, and we 'black republicans' will condescend to live under your government, and will not cut its throat, and yours too,—We offer you this '*honorable compromise*.' You can accept it or the knife.

If you reject this honorable compromise, *you* will be the cause of the war we will make on the Government; and will be the authors of the slaughter and bankruptcy it will bring, and of *our* division of the Union and of *our* rebellion." Had New England done this—and I beg pardon of noble New England for ever quoting this supposition, which I do from Mr. Latham—would the gentleman from Illinois have accepted that most "honorable compromise?" Would he, Mr. Chairman? Would he, my just-minded men of America? Would he do the thing described by the noble Democrat, Rosecrans, just after the victory at Murfreesboro', which has made him immortal, who thus speaks of the peace traitors of the North:

"They will lick the boots of these Southern thieves and liars, who will turn around and kick them."

Mr. Chairman, I take the question back. To ask it is not to assume merely that the gentleman from Illinois would have played the traitor by laying down, at the foot of monstrous, causeless rebellion, that Government which the people had just given to him and made him swear "to protect and defend." It is not to assume merely that he was too poor-spirited and too cowardly to defend a principle he believed right, and which the people had just approved and intrusted to him to defend as their chosen guardian; but it is to suppose the gentleman from Illinois is a dog, and a very mean dog at that. Sir, if *he* would not, and could not, make such a compromise without dishonor and the abandonment of all pretense of ours being a Government, then, in the name of all that is high and holy in common justice and fair play, I ask how could *we* abandon *our* principles and the Government at the bidding of rebellion, with Yancey's dagger at our heart?

But, Mr. Chairman, there is still another reason why I should not suppose the gentleman, as a member of Mr. Douglas' Cabinet, would, upon our threat of rebellion, have "honorably" compromised away "the Constitution as it is" than the one I have given, that it is to suppose him a traitor, a poltroon, and a very bad pup. That other reason, sir, is, that upon this very question the gentleman and all his party, but pre-eminently that gentleman, has been tested—ay, sir, most thoroughly tested. That gentleman, as the chosen and confidential representative of Mr. Douglas, was at the national Democratic convention at Charleston in April, 1860. What he said there and did was to be taken to be and was what Douglas said, and what Democracy North said. And, sir, Yancey was there too. And that same knife which is now red and dripping with blood of patriots slain on a hundred battle-fields for the Union was there too. And that same torch was there, and in the hands of the same conspirators, which has fired this temple of our liberties. And there Yancey held that knife at the throat of the gentleman from Illinois, and applied that torch to the funeral pyre on which they had stretched, for immolation to the Moloch of slavery, the Democratic party.

The gentleman then knew and said what Mr. Douglas, in effect, repeated in the last public utterance of his life, that this attitude of Yancey and his co-conspirators toward him and Mr. Douglas, at Charleston, was one act in the plot for the destruction of this Union by destroying the Democratic party. Sir, did you not know it? Did you not, in effect, say it? Have you not said so ten thousand times out of this Hall and in it? Did you not say, what the whole Democratic party North have said, that then and there the conspirators meant to destroy the Democratic party first, and this Union next—to put out the light, and then put out the light? And, sir, then, too, the gentleman, with this same knife of rebellion at his throat, was tendered, by these same conspirators, a compromise—if he pleases, an "honorable compromise"—one which would save the Democratic party, and, in his judgment, that would have saved this Union. What was that compromise? Let the country look at it now once more. What was that thing which the gentleman from Illinois, rather than agree to do, would destroy the Democratic party and thereby the Union? Why, sir, it is to the "honorable compromise" said to be tendered to us in the Crittenden compromise as Hyperion to a satyr. Here is the proposition offered to the gentleman at Charleston, before which he preferred to take the severance of the Democratic party and of this Union. It says:

"It is the duty of the Federal Government in all its departments to *protect*, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends."

That was all he was required to accept as a compromise, and with it to take Mr. Douglas for President. That was the "slave code," the Breckinridge platform, the "honorable compromise" tendered to the gentleman, as he lay there, the great representative of Douglas squatter sovereignty, upon the funeral pile of the national Democracy, with Yancey's knife at his throat. Take this "honorable compromise," the "slave code," and the negation of popular sovereignty, *with* Douglas and the preservation of the Union by the preservation of national Democracy, or take the knife to Union and Democracy. Mind you, Mr. Chairman, Yancey did not ask that this "honorable compromise," the Breckinridge platform, should be put into the Constitution, and that it should then be made, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable by all the people throughout all the ages. Oh, no, sir. They did not ask so much as that at his hands, but only that it should be put into a political platform—a thing brewed, like the hell-broth of the witches, from

"Eye of mewt and toe of frog,  
Wool of bat, and tongue of dog,  
Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting,  
Lizard's leg, and owllet's wing,  
For a charm of powerful trouble;"

and then dashed away more quickly than brewed when its purposes are ended. And, sir, what was the action of the gentleman then, when, by letting into that thing of wind called a platform this protection to slavery, he could have preserved the Democratic party, and thereby, as he avers, the Union also, and could have elected Douglas and avoided this war, as they tell us? Did he do it? For the sake of the national Democracy and of the Union did he doff his principles and make that "honorable compromise?" Did he get upon his belly and eat just a little more dirt? No, sir; oh, no. Just when the gentleman was in this attitude, with Yancey's knife at his party's neck, he received from Mr. Douglas this emphatic dispatch:

"Accept the Cincinnati platform and Dred Scott; but go not a step beyond."

Mr. ALLEN, of Illinois. I desire to ask the gentleman one question.—What authority has the gentleman from Ohio for making that assertion? Does he state it from his own knowledge, or from information? and if from information, what is the source of that information?

Mr. SHELLABARGER. I stated it as an extract, *verbatim, et literatim, et punctuatum*, from the reports of the proceedings of the Charleston Convention, as they were given to us in the public papers at the time the convention was in public session; and it never has been, so far as I know, denied.

Just then, too, it was that a distinguished delegate from Ohio, Mr. Payne, exclaimed in the convention, "we cannot recede from this ground of *non-intervention* without personal dishonor, and so help us God we never will." It was about the same moment when another delegate exclaimed, "I feel, praise the Lord, that I have got through eating dirt. I have eaten my peck, and I want no more." And it was then the gentleman rejected the "honorable compromise," divided the Democratic party, defeated Judge Douglas, which he avers divided this Union, and brought on this war. He did all this rather than abandon a principle he believed right, and put its opposite into a mere platform. He and Mr. Payne could not put the opposite of their principle of *non-intervention* into a platform, even for the sake of the Democracy and the Union, without "personal dishonor," and they swore by the God of nations and of men they never would. And, sir, what man or mouse has dared to wag tongue or tail at these men for not eating that peck of dirt at Charleston?

Sir, that was what he was asked but declined to do at Charleston, to save this Union by "honorable compromise." What is it that was demanded of us? Here is the material pro-slavery term of that Crittenden compromise tendered, it is said, to us. It says:

"In all the Territories south of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  slavery of the African race is recognized as

existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress; but shall be *protected* by all the departments of the territorial government *during its continuance.*"

This provision applied to all future acquired territories. This proposition, let it be observed, is the very antipode of the leading principle on which Mr. Lincoln had just been elected, as that leading principle was incorporated in the eighth resolution of the Chicago platform, which excluded slavery from the territories. It was "personal dishonor" for Mr. Payne and Mr. Richardson to admit into their mere platform the opposite of their principles, not principles just affirmed by the voice of the people; but it is "honorable compromise" for us to thrust into the Constitution of the United States, and to make it unalterable forever, the very opposite of our principles which had just been affirmed by the voice of the nation. Why, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has become patient beyond precedent, when it is not *his*, but *our* principles, *our* honor, *our* possession and administration of the Government, which are to be given up by this "honorable compromise." Since this rebellion has culminated in flagrant war, he has exhibited the graces of meekness far beyond the examples of the patriarchs and prophets. Even Moses and Job have ceased to be respectable. The primer must be changed now in order to vindicate "the truth of history;" and to the questions our mothers used to ask us in the nursery, "who was the most patient man?" and "who the meekest man?" instead of the answers being Job, Moses, both must now be answered, William A. Richardson.

It is true the gentleman's suffering is alleviated some in the fact that it is *our* suffering he proposes to tolerate, *our* honor he proposes to tarnish, *our* principles he proposes to sacrifice; but still he is meek and patient, because in "this honorable compromise" he is now ready to make with armed rebellion he parts with his own principles of non-intervention as well as ours.—And what makes his graces of patience arise to the absolutely illustrious and saintly, is the fact that this honorable compromise is to be made with the same men now in arms against him, who admonished the people of Charleston, when the gentleman and his fellow-delegates went there, to put an increased police force on their beat, and stronger locks on their doors to protect property and women from the danger which the presence of Northern Democrats had brought to the city. Why, sir, I remember that a man, once a most distinguished member of this House and of the Senate, whose eloquence surpassed Patrick Henry's, drew from oriental biography an example of meekness in the life of a Hebrew herdsman, who afterwards became a Hebrew king. He described the shepherd boy as being helped up the acclivities of Judea's mountains by adhering to the tails of Jesse's cattle; and as receiving with marked patience in his golden hair what was coveted most for the enrichment of the impoverished soil in the valleys below. That looks like patience. But even that example pales its ineffectual fires before the lustre of this modern example of meekness which we have in the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. Chairman, even my colleague [Mr. WALLANDIGHAM] was compelled, the other day, to admit that we could not in honor accept the Crittenden compromise; and he makes us guilty of a "high crime" in holding our principles at all, and not in the refusal to part with them. He says:

"But that party, most disastrously for the country, refused all compromise. How, indeed, could they accept any? That which the South demanded, and the Democratic and conservative parties of the North and West were willing to grant, and which alone could avail to keep the peace and save the Union, implied a surrender of the sole vital element of the party." \* \* \* \* \*

"Sir, the crime, the high crime of the Republican party was not so much its refusal to compromise, as its original organization upon a basis and doctrine wholly inconsistent with the stability of the Constitution and the peace of the Union."

Sir, the repetition now, and its use, to overthrow the Government, by those who aspire to speak for a great party, of this accusation, that the principle upon which Mr. Lincoln was elected was so damnable as to make its holding a "high crime," and its affirmation by the people a just cause of rebellion, makes it proper that attention should be invited again, stile as it is, to what that hideous principle is. Here it is:

"The States have the right, exclusively, to order and control their domestic institu-

tions according to their own judgment; and the Territories are, by the Constitution and common law, free Territory; and when necessary to secure to persons in the Territories their constitutional right to liberty, legislation to that end should be provided."

This, sir, is the precise substance of the whole principle making our "high crime." The States exclusive masters of their own domestic affairs, the Territories free. The question I make with him who says this principle is a "high crime," and with him who says we caused the war by refusing to part with this principle is, was this principle so damnable in its character that *we* could have abandoned it without personal dishonor, while *he* could not abandon his principles at Charleston without such personal dishonor? That is the question, sir. Gentlemen cannot dodge it, or blink it, or cover it up from the view of an intelligent people. Three words cover the whole vast question: "**ARE TERRITORIES FREE?**" Is this doctrine so monstrous that we could not believe it—so monstrous that, just when it was solemnly sanctioned by the people, and a Government selected to defend it, it could be abandoned under the force of the logic of assassins and bullies, by an "honorable compromise?" What! Mr. Chairman, that the Territories ought to be free—a self-evident and monstrous wickedness—to be instantly abandoned at the threat of treason the moment treason demands it. Why, sir, in the name of history, of truth, and God, let us look at this. Favor to freedom and to free labor—non-favor to extension of slavery and slave labor in the new States and empires of this continent! Who, sir, were and are the friends and advocates of this doctrine, which freemen are now demanded to dash to the dogs of rebellion the moment they bark at us? Why, sir, where did we learn that lesson? Who were our schoolmasters?

Will the gentleman from Illinois walk with me a moment in fancy? I take him to no porch of Zeno. I ask him not to the groves of Aristotle. Let him go with his head uncovered with me now, for I invite him into an august presence. That is not an unnatural fancy which lets the dead revisit "the glimpses of the moon," and which has assembled them again in Independence Hall as witnesses of the sad spectacle now before us, the death-struggle of the great Republic modeled after their teachings or formed by their hands. It is into that convocation that I invite gentlemen of this House and my countrymen. Let us light up again that old hall, where they reassemble now, with the same lamps which shone down upon their benches when they were there before. Let the books be opened again from which these founders of our Government read the precepts which guided them in our natal epoch. Let that focus of lights which fell upon the cradle of the Republic be again thrown in full blaze upon us as we stand around what, alas may be its grave. Let us look upon the shades of our fathers in the same illuminations which surrounded them when they made the Republic. There these lights are now hanging in a vast galaxy around the chamber where, in fancy, our mighty dead have come back. He who turns with most confidence to the teachings of our holy religion, would first look towards the constellation in which are grouped the great teachers of that divine faith. In that group he will see Baxter, Paley, Whitfield, Clark, McKnight, Scott, Beattie, Butler, Goodwin, and the whole body of the representative minds of Christendom. Of the Protestant faith Wesley may be the central figure, and of the Catholic, Leo X: and all alike are saying in the language of Wesley—"Human slavery is the vilest thing that ever saw the sunlight," and in the language of Leo X., "not religion alone, but nature herself cries out against slavery." He who reveres the teachings of the great masters in public and international law, would first look at the light held by Blackstone and Montesquieu, and Sir William Jones and Grotius, where he would read their united testimony written over them all in the immortal words of Grotius, that great father of the international law—"They who buy, sell, or abduct slaves or free men are men-stealers." He who bows reverently before the men who give laws to empires, policies to States, and character to civilization itself, would first see the light which came from the torch held in the hand of Fox and Burke and Clarkson and Wilberforce and Pitt; and would read in that light the utterance of them all in the memorable words of Pitt—"It is injustice to permit slavery to re-

main a single hour in England." He who is most moved by the melodies of imperishable song, or is guided by the persuasive forces of high literary productions, would first see in this assemblage, Addison, Hannah More and Dr. Johnson, and their associates in the world of letters, and would read, over them all, the words of Dr. Johnson, written in light which ages have not dimmed, "No man is the property of another." He who bows with most reverence in the august presence of the common law, would first turn to that grand impersonation of that law which is over the very entrance to the Chamber where we now are, Lord Mansfield. What he holds in his hand is the judgment of the King's Bench in the case of Sommersett; that thing which, upon the 22d day of June, 1772, belted with a zone of light the earth as far as goes that dominion "whose morning drum-beat following the sun and keeping pace with the hours circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of martial airs of England;" and which spread all over the British dominions—nay, sir, all over the great globe wherever the common law pushes its sublime sway—a vast and dazzling effulgence. The words of that judgment, which are the most important, by far, ever recorded in judicial records, are still there, where they were when the Republic was made. Read them:

"THE CLAIM OF SLAVERY CAN NEVER BE SUPPORTED."

But, Mr. Chairman, high over all, central to them all, penetrating, pervading and sanctifying all, is that other precept from the lips of the Master of them all, from which alike all government, all law, all morality, and all civilization derive the springs and sources of their existence. It says: "As ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Such, incontestably, were the lights under which were formed the institutions of the Republic. I have sought, in fancy, to put them back again in the same chamber where they were when the Government was formed. I have gathered there beneath those lights the shades of the men who stood around the cradle of the Republic. And as these pass before them let gentlemen be silent, for in that procession shall pass by every one of our illustrious dead. Let them heed the sublime precepts to which, as they pass, each one of these will point. There, their precepts, are legible, yet, once traced in light, now, alas! retraced in a nation's blood. At the head of that procession, sir, I see him whose bones sleep—do they sleep, sir, now?—close by us at Mount Vernon. The sentence to which Washington points the gentleman from Illinois is that one he uttered on the 9th of September, A. D. 1786, just before he became President of the Convention which made the Constitution. In the name of the liberty which the sword of Washington won—in the name of the Constitution Washington made—in the name of the God Washington feared—I beg my country to read that sentence to which Washington points us as he passes by us in this, may be, funeral procession of his Republic. Here it is: "IT IS AMONG MY FIRST WISHES TO SEE SOME PLAN ADOPTED BY WHICH SLAVERY IN THIS COUNTRY SHALL BE ABOLISHED BY LAW."

Next to Washington, let Benjamin Franklin pass by us. He wrote, in part, the Declaration of Independence. His name is to the Constitution, is linked with every glorious memory of the Revolution, is engraved upon the monuments which philosophy erects for her most illustrious sons, and his immortal epitaph she has chiseled there in the language of another republic—"Eripuit fulmen de celo, scytrumque tyrannis." The words to which Franklin points us, as he passes by in the mournful procession, are the very last public utterances of his illustrious life; and they come to us, gentlemen of the House, with startling emphasis, because they are words of prayer addressed to an American Congress. To Congress he says:

"Step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in our fellow men; \* \* \* devise some means of removing this inconsistency of character from the American people."

My fellow-Americans, may I beg you, in the light of the dread events now around us, to read the words to which the great Franklin points us as he goes by?

Next to Franklin let the author of the Declaration of Independence come.

And as his great shade proceeds his finger is upon the words of his which consecrated to freedom a vast empire, where now live six million freemen. They are:

"There shall be, in the Territories of the Northwest, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime."

Next to Jefferson, let Patrick Henry go by—a name connected with the springs and sources of our free institutions, and whose lustre would only be dimmed by any attempt at eulogy. And as he passes us by he repeats, in solemn emphasis, those ever-memorable words of his, bearing date the 18th of January, 1773:

"It is a duty we owe to the purity of our religion to show that it is at variance with that law that warrants slavery. I believe that the time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil."

Let the father of the Constitution, Madison, go by next to the illustrious Henry. And as he goes, he points those who declare that we brought this war, by our refusal to make slavery, by name, eternal in the Constitution, to his immortal words:

"It is wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men."

But, sir we weary in this review. There is, from the illustrious ones of that assemblage we have imagined of our revolutionary dead, no single dissenting voice. There pass by us, in the same procession of heroes, Hamilton, and Chase, and Wirt, and Crawford, and Mason, and Pendleton, and Marshall, and Lowndes, and Monroe, and Tucker, and Pinckney of Maryland, and Lee, and Randolph, and all—all, as they pass by us—by speech and act and vote, in the assemblies which formed our institutions, admonish us to see to it that freedom shall be the law of the Republic.

And, sir, did time admit of it, I would let these men point this House and the country again to their illustrious deeds. But these deeds in favor of freedom are too vast in number and importance to be recited. Let that one monument of their wisdom and patriotism, erected by their hands at the very vestibule of our national existence—the ordinance of 1787—suffice for this hour. There that monument stands, its base resting upon and stretching across one-third of the continent, and its top far above the stars. In looking at it now, well may its great author, Jefferson, exclaim of it, "I have reared a monument harder than brass, more enduring than pyramids." Would the gentleman from Illinois, if he could, now tear down that monument? Would he now take from its summit or from its eternal base one stone or one fragment of one stone? Let him look at it now in its awful grandeur, as it stands before him, its top "meeting the sun in its coming, the earliest light of the morning gilding it, and parting day lingering and playing on its summit."

The first Congress which ever met under the Constitution applied that ordinance, excluding slavery from all our then Territories, to our new form of government. Its beneficent provisions began at the western base of the Alleghenies, and swept across the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, far off to the Lake of the Woods. It was passed by the very men who had just made the Constitution—passed early in the morning of the first days of the Republic's existence—passed when the young leaf upon our tree of liberty opened to the sun its first verdure—passed when the first oath, by the men who had made the Constitution, had scarce escaped from their lips to support it; and had scarce yet been registered by God to whom it was addressed, and was approved by Washington on the same day the War Department of this Government was first created. And, sir, after it was passed, it received the illustrious signature of Washington. Why, sir, in the light of the events now surrounding us, and of the teachings of to day upon this floor, is it not a startling fact that one of the very first statutes ever passed by an American Congress, and one of the very first which received the approving signature of the first President—of the man "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens"—provided that there should be no slavery forever in all the vast territories then owned by this Government—provided precisely what, in the election of the present Administration, the people declared to be the best for the whole country—provided precisely what a gentleman on this floor now alleges our favoring makes us the authors of this rebellion, and the murderers of the three hundred thousand

who have fallen in Mr. Lincoln's six hundred and forty-one days; and provided what another calls a "high crime?" Ah, Mr. Chairman, will these gentlemen be—not just, for that we do not expect—but will they omit to be monsters?

Why, sir, shall I ask the gentleman from Illinois what he would take as a consideration for the beneficent results of that great act of the first Congress and of Washington; that act under the power of which a nation of men, a constellation of States, an empire of wealth and civilization has leaped, like Miner va from the head of Jove, full grown and beautiful? Let him contrast Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the States protected by that signature of Washington, with their six million of free, happy, and prosperous sons, with their more than empires of wealth, and their six inland oceans of commerce, with any other equal extent of slave territory upon which God's equally propitious sun and rains descend, and then answer me, not like the truckling demagogue and partisan of slavery, but like what he is, the independent, high-souled and sagacious statesman. Nay, sir, what would you take and have wrested from the brow of your own great State of Illinois the crown of liberty which Washington's signature, dated on the memorable 7th day of August, 1789, placed upon it? Why, Mr. Chairman, I will not ask him that question, for it is asking him whether, for not one piece of silver, he would have done against Illinois what Iscariot got *thirty* pieces for doing against Christ. I will not even ask what he would take and have reversed in history the action of Randolph and his associates, by which, on the 2d of March, 1803, they refused to permit slavery to linger for one hour in all the beautiful borders of his great State. And yet, Mr. Chairman, it was just what Washington and his first Congress did for us; just what Randolph did for Illinois; just that we sought to do for that vast and beautiful earth which stretches from the waters of the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean, and where our children now plant

"The seeds of empire future, broad,  
And rear the first altars to the Pilgrim's God."

There we wanted to do for our children what Washington did for us. And, Mr. Chairman, it was only the non-abandonment, at the bid of treason, by us of that desire that is denounced in this House as the cause of this rebellion against Washington's Republic. It is that which makes the six hundred and forty days of this Administration the murderers of three hundred thousand of our children! Sir, I might continue this exhibition of the precepts and deeds of our dead until it included them all. From sire to son these principles were transmitted and repeated. I might recite the teachings by Webster, repeated in his memorable declaration, that he would never do aught "to extend African slavery on this continent, or to add another slave State to this Union." I might point to that noble sentiment uttered by the great Clay, when, with a vehemence almost unlike himself, he declared that "no earthly power could compel him to vote to extend slavery into Territories now free."

But I must here pause, and let down the veil which hides from us the examples of these great men. Sir, if the Republic must perish, let all these holy memories of its origin, to which I have alluded, and the names of its founders perish also; and let that veil never rise again to agonize the heart of a perished people by the memories of the frightful delusion under which our experiment in free government was begun—a delusion, a lie, enunciated in those words upon which that experiment was begun—that "all men by nature are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and, sir, let their names perish from among men who deceived their children into the belief that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude ought to be extended except in punishment of crimes."<sup>5</sup> I, sir, have not exhibited again for the ten thousandth time the words and deeds of these men of the past, in the vain hope of convincing the gentleman from Illinois, or any one who says that the non abandonment of our principles at the bid of rebellion caused this war, that Washington and Franklin and Madison and Jefferson and Patrick Henry and Burke and Wilberforce and Blackstone and Grotius and Mansfield and Wesley and Baxter and Addison and Clay and Webster were right. Nay, sir, not in the hope to convince him that the universal conscience, example, and heart of modern Christian civilization is right. In obedience to these, at the period of our Revolution, from the vast dominions of the English, human slavery, like a bird of evil, took its everlasting flight; and in obedience to these it has been banished forever, since our Revolution, from France, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, the Dutch West Indies, and, indeed, from

about every civilized people upon the face of the globe. Nay, sir, not in the vain hope to convince them that the teachings of all these and of the divine revelation is right, whose sublime precepts *do* inculcate a benevolence which, to adopt the words of Patrick Henry, "IS AT VARIANCE WITH THAT LAW WHICH WARRANTS SLAVERY." I have not passed before him, in the ceremonies of the tomb, all these the founders of our free institutions, each one as he passes repeating those words of Washington—"It is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country shall be abolished by law," in the hope that the teachings of Washington, and of all his illustrious associates, and of all modern civilization, would be preferred to the teachings of the Charleston Mercury. But I have cited these examples and deeds of history again for other purposes. One is that for which the Irish lawyer cited Blackstone to the drunken judge, to remind him what a fool Billy Blackstone was. I want to show him what blockheads Grotius, Burke, Addison, Blackstone, Milton, Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin, and Webster, and Clay were. And the other reason for these citations is to show him that when he bids us to abandon our principles at the threat of rebellion he bids us abandon what we had been fooled into believing not merely by the precepts and examples of all the great men of this Republic without one illustrious exception, but by the precepts and example of every truly great man who has lived for two hundred years, and by the united voice and example of the entire christianized world. I wanted to show him, not that Washington and Grotius and the Bible and modern civilization were right, but only that when we declined, by an "*honorable compromise*," with Yancey's whip at our backs, to swap the principles of Patrick Henry for those of mud-sill Hammond, we have some apology for bringing on this war in the fact that we were deceived into believing our principles by the teachings of all good men and good Governments which have existed for a century. I have cited them to show him that if it would have been *dishonorable* compromise for him to be bullied out of his principle of "*squatter sovereignty*" by Yancey at Charleston, because he had reasons to believe in it, then it would be dishonorable compromise in us to be bullied out of our principles at Washington by Benjamin or Toombs or Mason, because we had reasons to believe in ours.

But, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman is right when he says it would have been honorable compromise for him to have got upon his belly at Charleston before Toombs and Yancey and begged pardon for having dared to hold *any* principle, and especially that of popular sovereignty, and to have meekly taken in its place "*the slave code*"; and if it would be "*honorable compromise*," had Mr. Douglas been elected, for him and Mr. Douglas to prostrate themselves before the Republican party with their hands upon their mouths in the dust, crying "*unclean—unclean*—if you Republicans only will not rebel and assassinate Mr. Douglas, we will gladly put your principles into the Constitution and make them eternal, and will never hold any of our own any more, and will ask pardon for ever having gone so far as to put any even into a platform;" if he is right in saying that it would have been honorable compromise in us, just when the principles of Washington and his compeers were by the voice and approval of the people intrusted to us for administration, to abandon them when mud-sill Hammond cracked his whip at us; yet, sir, it is monstrously, absolutely, and incontestably an error to assert that these conspirators would have given us even that "*honorable compromise*." Utterly polluted with dishonor as we would have been, as we lay there prostrate in filth before the rebellion, begging to be permitted to exchange Washington's principles for Bully Brooks' by "*honorable compromise*," they would have spit upon us and kicked us, instead of giving us the "*honorable compromise*" of the gentleman from Illinois.

In proof of this let us submit facts to a candid world. Mr. Douglas, whatever he may have previously said in hot debate, said in the *last* public utterance of his life: "There never was a time since the inauguration of Washington when the rights of the South were safer under the law than they are now." "The slavery question was a mere *pretext* for this rebellion. The rebellion is the result of "an enormous conspiracy formed more than twelve months ago." If Mr. Douglas told the truth when he declared that the rebels had no more cause to rebel when they did than they would have had on the 30th of April, 1789, the day Washington was inaugurated—and Mr. Douglas said that is so—will the gentleman say to me that our debasement of ourselves at the feet of the rebels by abandoning our principles and accepting theirs would have broken up that enormous conspiracy, made their rights more secure, which were as secure as

when Washington was inaugurated; or would they have permitted themselves to be robbed by our prostration before them of their coveted "pretext"? Would they, sir? If he will so say, then I will submit another proof. "Douglas did not know," will the gentleman say, "whereof he affirmed when he said that the slavery question was a mere *'excuse'* for the rebellion;" and that they were "as safe when they rebelled as they were under Washington." Douglas was not very familiar with public affairs; had not seen much of this rebellion; did not know the plans and movements of the conspirators; and was not a close or shrewd observer of men; and what is worse, was born in New England. Douglas lied when he declared the slavery question was a mere "excuse." Be it so; let the gentleman from Illinois pass Douglas too into the rear along with the blockheads Washington and Madison and Franklin and Grotius.

I next take as my witness Reverdy Johnson—a southern man, not guilty of being born in New England. Does he know something about the southern heart? He, upon the 7th of May, 1861, at Frederick, Maryland, used these words: "The truth is, and I regret to believe it, that a *fear* of the violation of southern rights was with the promoters of this rebellion a mere pretense."—They feared "the power was passing from them." Did this the South's great champion in the great Dred Scott case, and one of its greatest intellects, *know* this South? or did he falsify when he declared, that when they rebelled they did not even have a *fear* of the violation of any southern right? Does the gentleman reply, that "Johnson was not of the rebels, and not very smart, and did not know as well as I why they rebelled," and that compromise and security of their rights was what the rebels wanted? Very well; let Johnson, the giant intellect of the South, pass into the congregation of the fools, along with Jefferson and his associates, who were ignorant as to the rights and interests or designs of these rebels. I will now call as my next witness, a man who will come up to the standard which entitles him to speak as to what the rebels would have done in compromise. Yancey, the prince of the rebels, whose keen blade the gentleman from Illinois felt at Charleston, *was*, perhaps, as well posted as to the secrets of the rebellion as even the gentleman from Illinois. Let this House, this country, history, hear and write down, with pen of iron and point of diamond, every word of this utterance of the master of the rebellion; and let it never perish from the records of human wickedness. Let the gentleman from Illinois be careful to mark each word. Its date is material, and is December, 1861. He says:

"No proffered compromise; no amendments to the Constitution; no proffered additional guarantees, can delay her (the South's) action for independence one moment.—There is no defect in the fundamental law; therefore it needs no alteration."

Did Yancey know as well as he of Illinois whereof he spoke? Did that man know? He was selected by the rebel South to be their mouth-piece at Charleston, and whose speech there was to annihilate "squatter sovereignty" and Democracy, and to complete the first act in this infernal drama of rebellion and murder. Sir, did he know whether they wanted "honorable compromise?" No, say the gentlemen in this House, who alleged that we caused this war by rejection of compromise. We know better than Yancey, the Beelzebub of this secession, what its secrets were. This statement of Yancey was but the unofficial statement of an individual, and he did not know what the rebels want. Very well, sir. Let Yancey, as an individual, also pass into the company of simpletons, who are not wise in the designs of the rebellion, and who do not comprehend the Southern heart; and I now call a group of witnesses. I now call no unofficial testimony or individual averment. I take the solemn official announcement made by the three commissioners of the rebel government, speaking through Lord John Russell to Parliament, to Europe, and the world. This is not the twaddle of pot-house politicians, nor the inflamed rhapsodies of ranters; but it is the authorized, calm, cautiously worded, and official enunciations of the views, purposes and judgment of the rebellion, which it has chosen to record about itself in imperishable history. Sir, will the gentleman accept this utterance of the commissioners Yancey, Rost and Mann as evidence of what concessions or compromises they wanted? These are their words, which bear date the 14th of August, 1861:

"It was from *no fear* that the slaves would be liberated that secession took place. The very party in power had proposed to guaranty slavery forever in the States, if the South would but remain in the Union."

Will the gentleman, in the teeth of this solemn official utterance by the diplomatic representatives of this huge treason, in which they aver that they did not leave the Union from any "fear" as to their slaves, persist in declaring that they lied, and did have fears which themselves disclaimed, and which compromise would have assuaged? Will he still persist in being wiser than the combined wisdom of the rebellion, as to the secret motives and suppressed fears of these rebels? If he will still persist, and will say these are but words and not deeds, then I point him to deeds—most emphatic, deliberate and convincing—which shall show Mr. Latham's, Mr. Douglas' and Mr. Johnson's statement to be most true, that these men wanted no compromise, had no "fears" as to their rights, but were acting upon "a fixed plan to break up the Government."

My countrymen, among these deeds look next at the action of your own Government, done to conciliate these rebels. After they, by withdrawing from Congress, gave all the power to the loyal States, you organized *all* your Territories into three Governments, and in each you not only did not exclude slavery, but you expressly enacted that all property should be protected; so that, if Dred Scott dicta were law, you protected slavery in every inch of American territory not theretofore organized. You, at the same time, by a two-thirds vote in each branch of Congress, passed amendments to the Constitution, whereby Congress was expressly prohibited from ever disturbing slavery in the States. You passed unanimously a resolution declaring that Congress had no power or inclination to touch slavery in the States. The Executive, in the most solemn form, protested the same purpose not to disturb their domestic institution.

May I ask you, my fellow-citizens, who are not quite insane with partisan madness, did not Yancey, Rost and Mann tell the truth when they said they had *no fears* for slavery, and that "the party in power had proposed to guaranty it forever in the States?" Did not Douglas tell the truth when he declared "that the rights of the States never stood firmer under the law than when they rebelled," and that "there was never a day since Washington was inaugurated that they had not as good a cause for rebellion as when they did rebel?"

But, sir, add to this the fact that Wigfall, Benjamin, Hemphill, Slidell, and Johnson of Arkansas, in their seats in the Senate, on the vote on that compromise on the 20th of January, 1861, by refusing to vote, helped to defeat it; and then add to that the fact that Mr. Lincoln's friends, before the rebellion, were in the minority in both branches of Congress, and in the Supreme Court, and could not raise by law money to pay one soldier, to buy one gun or one pound of powder; could not make one brigadier general, one secretary, one foreign minister, pass one law or one resolution, nor do one legislative or judicial act which did not meet the approbation of these rebels who left Congress. And in view of all these, of all these solemn declarations of the ablest and most thoroughly intelligent statesmen of the North and South, loyal and rebel; in view of all these irresistible facts of palpable and recent history, what is the name of that statement that we forced these men into rebellion by refusal to secure their rights by compromise, or that they would accept at our hands compromise, however dishonorable to us, or fatal to all constitutional or popular government? Sir, I know of no speech or phrase of power enough to reach down to the depths of the perfidy that justifies this treason, which drinks up at once a nation's liberty and blood, and which puts that treason's crimes upon the heads of those who are the victims of its foul murders.

Mr. Chairman, my colleague, [Mr. VALLANDIGHAM,] in his recent remarks in this House, plumes himself upon the sagacity and foresight which enabled him to foretell that the war for the Union would ignominiously fail. Sir, it may fail. I have opinions not like his as to the ability of a great people to defend the only institutions in the world which stand for popular liberty and self-government—but I need not state these opinions here. The gentleman may be right, and this people may be so craven as not to defend by the sword the institutions and liberties which Washington, under God, won by the sword. But, sir, let heaven, earth and hell be witnesses of what I say; if this struggle should, as the gentleman says it will, ignominiously fail to deliver the Union and Government from a rebellion against the right of popular suffrage, against republican institutions and the liberties of the poor man—for, mark it, that is what the rebellion is—then, sir, that failure will be the result of efforts here to alienate the people of this Government from its support, and of the meditated purpose of northern conspirators to unite us to the government of the rebellion. And, sir, should that ruin be in reserve for us, which God forbid, and should at last be realized,

the hideous *promises* made by northern men to these traitors, which urged and invited and at last induced the blow from the rebellion—promises that one-half the North would sustain them in the infernal treason—then, sir, history will record high in the rolls, where she registers the names of the masters in this work of infamy, the names of them who made these promises. And, sir, in the Inferno of some future Dante who shall trace the spirits of those who are the architects of this hideous ruin, the infernal limner will paint in foreground upon his canvass of mingled fire, blood and tears, among their chiefs them who incited the rebellion by promising to this treason, as its best ally, one-half the North, and whose treachery to their country at last made the hellish promise good.

Why, sir, the gentleman's book of prophecy of the failure of a free people to repress a rebellion against their liberties, of which he is so boastful on this floor, and which he boasts that time, his avenger, has so nobly vindicated, has not in it the abominable merit of the sybilline books, of foretelling, in ambiguous utterances, events in whose coming the prophets had no action. The gentleman is proud that he could foresee and foretell the failure of the war for the Union—Sir, did he forget that so could Fulvia foretell the day on which Cicero was to be assassinated in his house? So could Cethegus foretell the day on which Cataline would be at the gates of Rome. So could Catesby foretell that Guy Fawkes would be, with matches in his pocket, under the House of Parliament upon the 5th of November, 1605. So could Benedict Arnold foretell that Sir Henry Clinton was to be at West Point upon the 25th of September. And so could Iscariot foretell that the Son of Man would be betrayed by a kiss. Should these prophecies of the failure of this Government to defend itself against the sword of this conspiracy prove true, as they will should the great and hitherto loyal Democracy of the North follow his lead, it will be, sir, because these prophets who foretell our overthrow shall succeed in making good, at last, to the rebellion their pledge made years ago, that a "majority of northern men were ready to fight the South's battle on our ground," and would be at last brought under the banners of that rebellion. The gentleman denounces the war by our Government to enforce the obedience and respect of its subjects, as an absurd, wicked and preposterous failure. It is unprecedented and monstrous to compel rebels to obey and respect a good Government, in this man's logic and history!

Why, sir, whose history has the gentleman read? Not Rome's, for Rome killed Cataline at Pistoia. Not England's, for England has a hundred Sedge-moers. Not the United States', for that put down Burr's conspiracy and the whisky rebellion. Not Jeff Davis', for that quells the rising in Georgia against the conscription. Not the Utopia of Sir Thomas Moore, for that had *laws*. He has not studied the parts of that one hour of dreams he gave us upon this floor, because during that brief hour he preserves not the decent method there is in madness. He, in one breath, denounces as tyranny and monstrous delusion this war of the Government, waged to keep its capital, its forts, its mints, its harbors, and its territory, and to secure to all its citizens the right to "follow to the Gulf the waters of the Mississippi with travel and trade." And then he tells us in the next breath that we mean to compel this river, from source to mouth, to remain free to our entire people, and that we "must and will follow it with travel and trade, not by *treaty*, but by right, freely, peaceably, and without restriction or tribute, under the same Government and flag, to its home in the bosom of that Gulf?"

Why, sir, this last breath, taken by itself, sounds believose—very. Its "must and will" is portentous of war. Should Jefferson Davis not be in a melting mood when the gentleman gets to the front of his batteries at Vicksburg, and should the almost irresistible blandishments of the gentleman's exquisite manners—adorned as he is with a tiara on his brow set with those gems his speech describes the "slave code," the "right of transit," the "right of sojourn," and all this family of brilliants, and accompanied with a regal train of bloodhounds—not overcome the obdurate affections of Mr. Davis, nor silence his batteries at Vicksburg, then the "must and will" of this sentence looks as if our Lethario actually meditated "creating love by force and developing fraternal affection by war," and meant to make love to the batteries at Vicksburg by the persuasions of bayonet and ball. But, sir, when you put this sentence along with the ones preceding, in which all courtships by coercion are denounced as utter, disastrous and wicked folly, the villainous compound does not approach to the dimensions of third-rate rhodomontade, nor to the dignity of decayed gibberish. What, sir, in one breath tell us that this Government "must and will" have, "by right,"

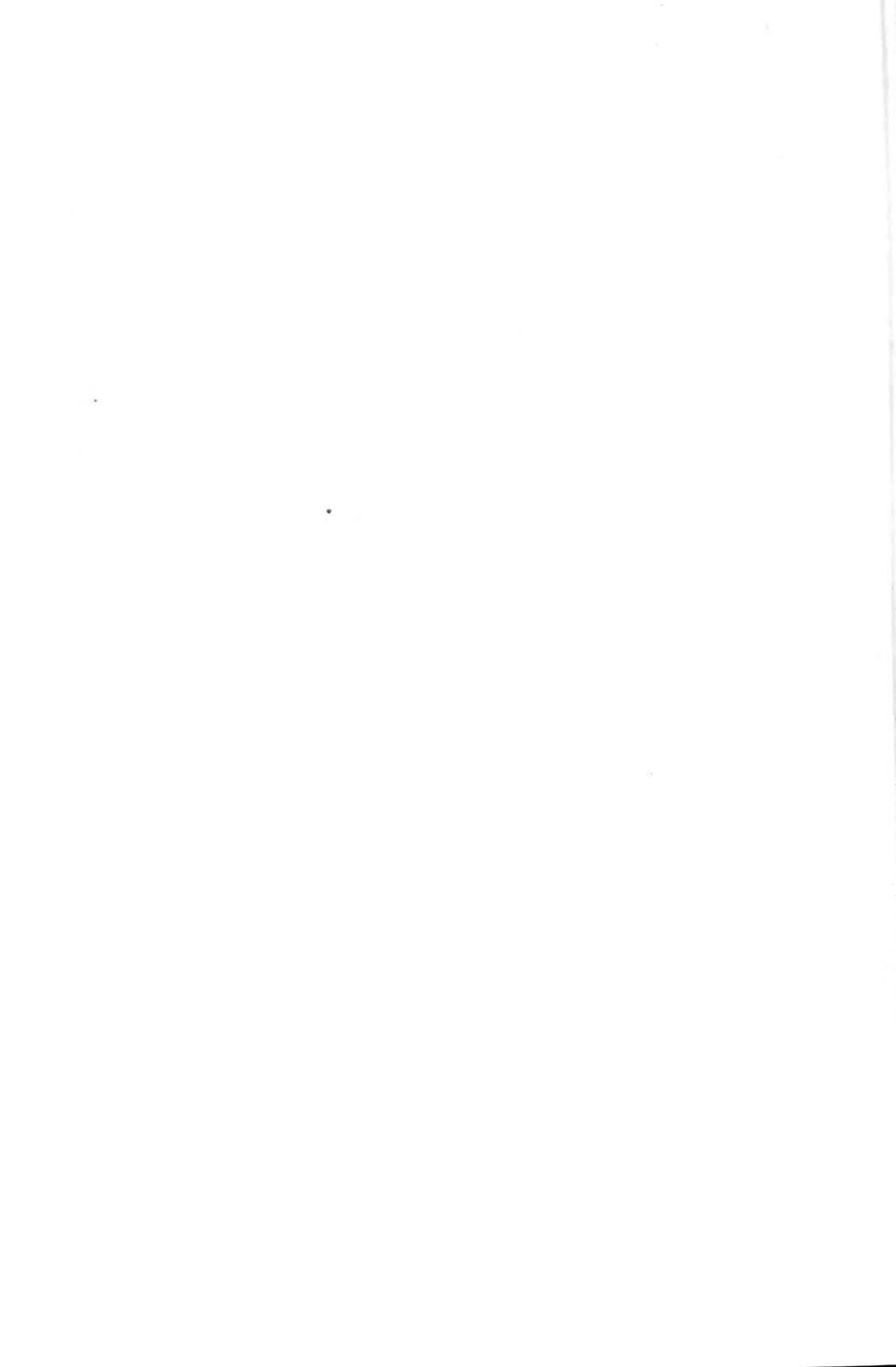
the free navigation of the Mississippi, Davis' batteries and the world to the contrary notwithstanding, and in the next tell us that the effort of this Government to day to enforce that free navigation is unprecedented and monstrous wickedness! Why, sir, the gentleman, as I have said, is not mad, for there is some method, even in madness. What, then, is his speech? Sir, I admit I do not know, and think the country will label it as Barnum named the thing in his gallery of queer things, which was neither man nor monkey, and which he called "What is it?"

Sir, the gentleman outdoes the philosophers of Dean Swift, or somebody else, who organized a corporation to put out the sun and light their world with sunbeams extracted from cucumbers. His sagacity would be just equal to theirs if he had stopped when his rhapsodies against coercion were ended; and when he had got up a Government with a Constitution, but with no power to "protect or defend it," with laws, but with no authority to compel subjects to obey them; with a capital, but with no right, owing to *habeas corpus*, to arrest the Guy Fawkes who was about to blow it up; with a President, made commander-in-chief of its armies to quell insurrection, but with no armies to command, nor any right to command them; with exclusive control of its navigable rivers, but with no right to navigate them; had he, I say, stopped then he would have been just as wise as the cucumber philosophers. But, going on, after he has got up this admirable form of government, to tell us in his most coercive and unlove-making manner, with teeth gritting, arms defiant, nostrils distended, lips compressed, fists clenched, face upturned, with the whole man on tip-toe exalted, and eyes "in fine frenzy rolling," that this Government "must and will" have, by right, and not by treaty or tribute, the free navigation of the Mississippi river, Jeff Davis *volens velens*; then, sir, is when I get "bothered." And, Mr. Chairman, it is the duty of every member of Congress, in imitation of the gentleman, to quote some poetry in every speech upon this floor. In obedience to that duty, and in dedication to the lofty genius of the gentleman from Ohio for subduing rebellions without coercion, and by the matchless seductions of the "compromise" which will "preserve the Constitution as it is" by changing it so as to fit each rebellion as it comes along, and which will "enforce the laws" by altering them so as to legalize each murder committed against them, I quote from the *Melodies of the Kingdom of Lilliput*:

"There was a man who loved a maid, who loved the maiden much;  
The maid disliked his form and size, and would not marry such.  
You like, said he, the mouse, I'm told—the mouse in form and and size;  
I'll be a mouse to suit your views—a mouse by compromise."

Sir, the life of the Republic will be decided speedily. That existence self-evidently depends on those who made it—the people. Should the mass of the northern Democracy, in obedience to the counsels of my colleague, [Mr. VALLANDIGHAM,] withdraw their support from this Government in its struggle against rebellion, then, as he predicts, we are defeated and lost. If they should follow those of such patriots and Democrats as he of Pennsylvania, [Mr. WRIGHT,] for whose recent speech all patriots thank him and history will honor him, and of such distinguished patriots and Democrats as Wright of the Senate, Butler, Dix, Rosecrans, and scores of other Democrats in the army, in this House, and in places of public trust and of private influence, then, sir, the rebellion will be overthrown, and the Republic will live to protect and bless us and our children and our children's children for ages; will live under "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was," not when Senators were stricken down in their own blood in the Senate Chamber for words spoken in debate, and when all over the South men were murdered for repeating the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, but as it was when, in its golden age, Washington and Madison were Fathers and Presidents of the Republic.











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